2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

The various groups of tribes, Berber and Arabic-speaking, have also more or less their peculiar customs and mode of life, but to what extent this is the case cannot, of course, be discussed in the present connection. At the same time there may also be a greater resemblance in customs between Arabs and Berbers living in the same neighbourhood than between tribes belonging to the same group. As the dwellings of the people will be frequently referred to in the descriptions of their rites or customs, it may be well to know that the Jbâla,

FIG. 4.—My travelling companions: a Rifian (left), Sîdi 'Abdsslam (mounted), and two Jbâla from Andjra.

the Rifians, and the Shlöḥ live in houses, that most of the Arabs and the Berber tribes in the neighbourhood of Ujda live in tents, and that among the Brâber some tribes live in houses and others in tents or both in houses and tents. There were nomadic Berbers living in tents before the arrival of the Bedouins.[1]

I have during my journeys to Morocco studied the customs and beliefs of these various groups of people, with the exception of the Drâwa, as regards whom I have been unable to procure sufficiently trustworthy information. In this book

[1] Ibn Ḫaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trans. by Baron de Slane, i. (Alger, 1852), pp. 167, 177.

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793 the fqih, fed by turn (nubth), receives one-fifth of the yield of the land in habus, the "rich widow"[97], and the others get what falls to them gratuitously. In the amarras or storehouse/silo guardian of
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624 the Eastern Rif[98], we see another functionary of the jma'th, who, through the asuqi (25 kilos for 4 mudd, or measurements of barley)[99], was in charge of the preparation and custody of individual silos in fixed places, called ma'ar, which came to represent, for Rifians, the collective storehouses of agadir-s (whence the place name Ajdir, existing in both the tribes of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen) of the Moroccan South[100].

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[623] The iziddjifen or family heads were the real directing nucleus of the jma'th; and in the clan, the governing body was made up of the imqqranen or "big ones", who habitually met, with legislative and executive functions, in the market. The clan delegates were collectively known as the Aith-(th)arba'in and the meeting itself, the agrau (pl. igrawn), of the tribe. The Aith(th)arba'in were unappealable. Fqih-s and men of law were mediators, collectors or executors.
646 The Aith(th)arba'in, however, made the laws, interpreted them, and obliged people to obey them, without discussion, backtalk or subterfuge. This was a true form of popular representation, the powers of which, although they did not emanate directly from the people in many cases, or through a European-style elective system, were indirectly derived from, and with the tacit consent of, their constituents..... It is a rare person who can produce a document which accredits him as a popular (author's italics) representative, either circumstantial or permanent, but, nevertheless, no one with a better title or more

191 if not non-existent[144].....In some of the tribal place names the in-
[101] flux of both Arabic and Berber may be noticeably discerned[145], which in some cases gives rise to a true amalgamation which its (i.e. the name's) Arab or Berber origin does not define with any certainty[146].

186 2) Origins:--The Igzinnayen are proud of their Berber origin and consider themselves to be of a superior race. The Rifian from Igzinnayen holds his Arab neighbor from the tribe of Branis in no little contempt[147].....In the tribe of Igzinnayen, one may observe
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144 two nuclei of population which show great ethnic differences, one
184 situated north of Tizi Usli, between Azru Aqshar[148] and Axt Tuzin, in which there predominates, as much in physical type as in language and customs, the features characteristic of the Berber origin of this tribe; and the other nucleus, located to the southeast of the first, is of Arab origin[149]. The scorn which the Berbers felt for their
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[186] Arab neighbors, combined with the fact that the latter recognized and obeyed the government of the Makhzin[150], gave rise to frequent feuds between the people of each region; and in these tribal wars, the "Berber" group was almost always victorious. During their liff strug-
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648 gles, both the warring bands sought aid from among their next-door neighbors; for while the "berber" band received help from the Axt Tuzin, the "Arab" band was able to count upon the support of the Mtalsa (Rifian Ibdharsen) and Branis[151].

114 Up to the present time, it has not been possible to unravel
619 the ethnic origins of the Igzinnayen, which are highly confused[152]. Moulieras, who was never in Morocco, considers them Berbers for the simple reason that they speak Rifian dhamazighth, an essentially

443 562 since the Spanish pacification of the Rif), women's markets came into being either as a concession or by default. Even so, women of the best families still do not attend them as a rule, much as they would probably like to; for the sale and purchase of eggs, chickens and pottery which forms the overt activities of women's markets are in reality, one might say, a disguise for more clandestine transactions: sale and purchase of potions, charms or recipes to induce love, fertility, sterility, and even, in some cases, poisons. Rifian males all know that their womenfolk "know all about such things", but their own knowledge of them is, by comparison, very superficial; and it is thus to their own advantage, in certain respects, to prevent their women from attending. In a manner of speaking, they are successful, for it is only old women, poor women, and women who are locally held in low repute who are market-goers, either to their own markets or to regular ones (the latter of which they have only attended in the last two decades or so).

Women's markets exist today only in the Thimsaman, where there is one (on Tuesdays, Suq th-Thratha, at Swani), and in the Aith Waryaghar, where there were seven in Spanish times: one on Sundays (Suq r-Had) at Iswiqen, mentioned above; two on Mondays (th-Thnain), at Azghar, near Ajdir in the Plain of Alhucemas, and at Isrihan, in what Blanco labels the "originating Jma'th" of the latter; one on Thursdays (r-Khmis) at Swani at the mouth of the Nkur River where it empties into the Bay of Alhucemas; two on Fridays (r-Jum'a), at Aghridh, near Isrihan, and at Suftura, in Ighmiren, of Aith 'Adhiya; and one on Saturdays (s-Sifth) at Aith Qamra. (Of these, only that on Mondays at Azghar, that on Saturdays at Aith Qamra, and the Tuesday market of Thimsaman were still functioning in 1959.) Interestingly enough, there are no women's markets, and there never have been, in the heart of the southern Jbil itself, although those of Iswiqen, Isrihan and Aghridh are all on its northern slope.

[184] Of the other Rifian tribes, the Aith 'Ammarth formerly had a women's market (on Thursdays, r-Khmis, at Ija'unen), as did the Igzinnayen (on Tuesdays, th-Thratha, at Inhanahan), Bni Bu Frah (on Tuesdays at Agni) and Aith Yittuft (in which the day and site of the market in question are unknown to us); but these are all said to have [114] disappeared before the time of 'Abd al-Krim. Sánchez Pérez, then, is essentially correct in localizing women's markets within the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar, which was obviously their point of origin.

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[103] [133] 117a--The Jbil Hamam, or Mountain of Doves (it is given this Arabic designation rather than the Rifian cognate adhrar n idhbiren), is in every way the mountainous backbone of the Aith Waryaghar, their highest point geographically (with its peak of Adhrar n Sidi Bu Khiyar at 1930 m.) and their point of origin traditionally. With certain notable [823] exceptions (such as the clan of Imrabdhen), all the tribal segments now [121] in the lowland part of Aith Waryaghar point to the Jbil Hamam as their ancestral home; and it was for these, as well as other, reasons, that we concentrated our own research in the southern mountains of the tribe.

135--Although he does not couch them in anthropological language, Blanco here elucidates certain principles which are so common to most segmentary systems as to have become anthropological platitudes, since Evans-Pritchard's work among the Nuer. They were not, however, platitudes in 1935, and Blanco's perspicacity in stating them (even if obliquely) should be commended.

136--For competent discussions on the racial affiliations of the Rifians, see Carleton S. Coon, The Races of Europe, New York: Macmillan, 1939, and Coon, 1951, op. cit., pp. 156-7.

But why should the Rifians be aware of their own racial affiliations well enough to "forget" them? They know they are whites, and they know they are Berbers (the latter example of self-knowledge is particularly well developed at the present day, since the independence of Morocco, and contains definite political overtones); and these facts, to them, are sufficient, genealogies and traditions explaining all the others.

137--Ghis, in Moroccan Arabic, means "mud", and a better name for the river in question could not be found.

138--The sixth "clan" of the Jbil is in reality made up of three subclans which are "brothers" of the members of two of the other five "ancient" clans which Blanco mentions above: Aith Turirth are "brothers" of Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Timarzga are "brothers" of Aith 'Ari (Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari in turn form the two top segments of one major clan, that of Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari--it has no proper name, on this level, of its own), and Aith 'Arus are "brothers" of Aith Hadhifa. These three subclans, being contiguous to each other in the mountain massif of the Jbil Hamam and discontiguous to their larger "clan brothers" mentioned above, formed a single administrative unit under a shaikh during Spanish times.

139--Blanco's recommendation to do away with the khalifa or representative of the qa'id in order to make for greater administrative simplicity was not acted upon by the Spanish authorities.

140--The office of jari or village headman is one which exists only among the Aith Waryaghar. In all other tribes, the village headman is the mqaddim, who in Aith Waryaghar became the head of the administratively created "sub-fraction", while the "fraction" itself was under a shaikh. The creation and insertion by the Spaniards of another tribal office-holder on a level between that of village and clan (where no such office-holder had existed previously) was their answer to the greater segmentary intricacy, larger territorial units and greater population of the Aith Waryaghar. And last, but not least, Blanco's division of the total tribal territory into three blocs, each under its own qa'id, and each perforce following territorial rather than segmentary lines (owing to the frequent geographical discontinuity of subsegments), was, in the last analysis, the best and indeed the only way to make for an effective tribal administration.

141--This phrase comes from Hanoteau and Letourneux' famous reference to the Thajm 'aith of Kabylia as "la pierre angulaire de l'edifice berbère".

695 tribal one). To be able to swear, a cojuror had to be old enough to fast during Ramadan (i.e. to have attained puberty); and women did not swear.

The plaintiff had to be present at the mosque (and each tribe or clan generally had at least one mosque at which it was customary to take oath) when the accused and his cojurors arrived. When the latter arrived, they removed their footgear and weapons, as the plaintiff had done before them. Then the fqih of the mosque asked them what they were going to swear; they told him; and he made each one of them repeat it on the mushaf (Koran) after saying the oath formula "Bi-llahi alladhi la ilaha illa huwa!" (With God, of whom there is none other than He), the accused swearing first. The accused placed his right hand on the mushaf while taking oath, and each of his cojurors, in turn, did the same.

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There were, however, instances in which the mushaf was not employed as a vehicle for swearing; and some say that these instances were more the rule than the exception, and that in them the oath formula was restricted to "Bi-llah" (With God) only. Others deride the practice and say that it was followed only by "ignorant people"; but, even so, the mere fact of its existence tends to place Rifian oaths at more or less of a midpoint between those in the Sus and Western Atlas, where the mushaf was always, without exception, employed, and those of the Middle and Central Atlases, where it was completely unheard of. It is in the latter areas that Berber oaths in Morocco reached their greatest purity and complexity. However, it should be said that in the Rif, unlike the Central Atlas region, the fqih, if the need demanded, repeated the oath as many times as was necessary for all the cojurors to understand it and say it after him; whereas in the Central Atlas, a different official, the anahkam, only repeated it once (the formula there was, in addition, more complicated than the Rifian one), and if any cojuror tripped up over it or got it wrong, the oath was broken; and the same applied if any of a group of assembled bystanders, whose function it was, in effect, to heckle the cojurors, succeeded in making him falter or stumble over the words, by yelling "'Auh! 'Auh! 'Auh!" (In the Rif, there was no such heckling, even though oaths, for obvious reasons, had to be taken publicly.) A further distinction was that in the Central Atlas, all important oaths were taken not at mosques, but at saints' tombs. There were many other differences in detail as well, such as number of cojurors required for various offenses and in the ramifications of the question of who pays in the event that some cojurors were either recusant or missing; but finally, and perhaps most relevant of all, the oath system in the Rif, encompassing fewer tribes and far less territory than in the Atlas, showed a far greater tribe-to-tribe uniformity.

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To return now to the oath itself: after it was taken, the fqih, who had witnessed it, drew up a document (tibriyith, "letter") in Arabic certifying that the defendant, whom he named, had sworn on such and such a date to the effect that he had not committed such and such a crime: he (the fqih) then appended the names of the latter's cojurors, as well as that of the plaintiff. Finally, he gave this document to the defendant so that the latter could produce written evidence of his innocence.

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5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

695 [784] It was, and is, universally believed that anyone who perjured himself at oath would suffer dire consequence; either he, or some member of his family, or his livestock, would be struck dead or blind or dumb by God shortly thereafter, or, if not, that some other almost equally awesome calamity would befall him; and informants cited numerous examples. And: if either the accused or any of his cojurors failed to turn up at the mosque to take oath at the time stipulated (without a valid excuse for not doing so), it was the accused who had to pay the fine for whatever damages he had caused the plaintiff, as his non-appearance was sufficient proof of his guilt. The same was true if [184] one or more of his prospective cojurors refused to swear with him; [191] unlike in the Central Atlas, he could not obtain substitute cojurors, through sacrifice--the Rifian oath system was simpler and more inflexible. And if, of course, the plaintiff failed to show up, there was no oath at all. The accused or any of his cojurors could, however, be legitimately excused (as could the plaintiff) in the event that they had been unavoidably detained or prevented from appearing through illness, etc., in which case the oath was postponed until the following Friday or until such time as the individual in question was well enough to swear.

000 [114] 39--Here Blanco contradicts a previous assertion he made by saying that in this instance Islam and customary law are at one, and that the former puts the responsibility on the individual (which is true as far as oaths are concerned, but highly questionable in many other respects), while the latter puts it on the group!

[157] [181] 40--Blanco develops, and very amusingly, his ideas regarding the Rifian and his perennial mistrust (shimta walu, WALU CONFIANZA!) of his fellow man and of the world around him in a series of humorous papers (Analisis Espectral del Rifeño, Hospitalidad Rifeña, La Garrota Berberisca and Del Gesto en el Islam), all unpublished, which most unfortunately cannot be fitted into the framework of the present compilation.

[191] [577] [114] 41--This is very true; but only in part, for where the author's notion bogs down is in the simple fact that the European "word of honor" is essentially conceptualized as individual rather than collective. One may, to be sure, speak of a "national word of honor", among Europeans, but again this is personified individually through heads of state, etc. Thus, phenomenologically, the European "word of honor" and the Berber collective oath are two rather different kettle of fish, despite a certain parallelism in their objectives.

[114] 42--Blanco's meaning is not quite clear; but, if we understand him aright, why should the imqqranen have either depreciated the value of collective oaths or themselves be depreciated in turn for having to swear? If a defendant can legitimately get powerful and influential cojurors for himself, so much the better for him; but then again, in the Rif, an amghar, though respected by his own constituents, was considered no less bullet-proof than anyone else by his enemies....When Blanco refers to "those who were in on the secret", he presumably means "cojurors".

616 with the Axt 'Akki of the Axt Tuzin and with the Truguth of the
619 Thimsaman. Secondly, the Aith Waryaghar are not Sanhajan, and because
114 tradition may have associated them with the liff of the Sanhajans long ago, this has nothing to do with their origins--which are Rifian. Thirdly, and worst of all, Blanco writes unwarranted nonsense through voicing the notion, entirely of his own making, of "communicating Ghumaran or Sanhajan passageways", in a cross-tribal sense.

000 46--By "ethnographic islets", Blanco probably refers to tribes such as Targist, Aith Mazduyi and Bni Gmil, which are neither properly Rifian nor properly Sanhajan.

[114] 47--As today the validity of the whole Masmuda-Ghumara-Sanhaja-Zanaga-Zanata classification of Berbers, on a linguistic, racial and cultural basis, has been thrown open to question and doubt, Blanco's postulation, at best, seems very far-fetched. (The objectives of one generation are notoften those of the next!)

616 48--Ta'rqiba: the sacrifice of an animal, after a war, by the side
728 which is willing to surrender first. In many parts of Morocco, it
184 involves cutting off the feet of the animal in question after slitting its throat and before it dies; but in the Rif, this particular modality
782 is not practiced. There, any and all overtures to peace after a feud or war are not designated as ta'rqiba, but as ssulh, while the term referring to the act of sacrifice itself is dhaqqarsth.

000 49--Blanco's so-called "post-ta'rqiba" vacuum seems to me in reality to
[175] be the spatial norm in Rifian liff distribution; for prior to 'Abd al-Krim's time, and the creation, born of necessity, in 1921 of Eastern and Western (Spanish), and later, in 1925, of Southern (French) fronts, Rifian tribesmen always fought in their own home territory--with the possible exception, in one instance, of the Aith 'Ammarth contingents who helped the Aith Waryaghar against Bu Hmara's negro general on the banks of the Nkur River in 1908.

671 771 law, a lay law ignorant of religion even though it speaks of the Sacred Book, the irregular application of which, in such a recent and turbulent period, leaps into view, proving that Rifian Islamization is superficial.[57]

671 182 [778] [782] [779] [514] This pact combines all the pleasant conditions of the Rifian appetite. It is verified in the habitual place of reunion for transcendental acts, taking place under sacred protection, in addition to lubricating the agreement with the heathen rite of blood sacrifice, the Islamic promise of peace, and the feast day for the sober Rifian, an enforced vegetarian.[58]

671 182 614 619 It brings together the mass of the Aith 'Adhiya, a subclan of the khums (Rifian thakhammasth) of Aith Bu 'Ayyash; and democratic practice advises this mass not to mention the name of any individual in writing, as this might presuppose questions of distinction and preference, swelling their heads.

671 182 628 681 [511] It establishes the ddiyith[59], fixing it at 2000 duros, the maximum sanction which it is worth pointing out and imprinting indelibly in the minds of those who attend. This is a fabulous amount of money for the economic means of the people to whom it relates; and it is accepted as much out of the respect which radiates from it as from being generally admitted in analogous pacts of which they have news in neighboring districts.

671 628 681 184 443 It must be pointed out, in order to avoid the confusions which can arise from the different editorship of the qanuns, that the real ddiyith, or blood money (author's italics), does not, in reality, differ anywhere throughout the Rifian mountains, and must be valued at

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1000 duros[60]; for the double amount of 2000 duros which appears in certain qanuns refers only to a single case and to the place in which the crime is committed--the suq, or tribal market.

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In this single case the 2000-duro fine is imposed, and the reason is simple: the crime in these conditions and in this place reaches out to attack not only the prestige of the tribe but the common interests of Rifian society, and endangers them gravely; for, naturally, when news of the crime is spread by the regular constituents of the market, this keeps away the merchants from other places who have received word. This, in turn, brings about a commercial blockade (author's italics) of the tribe, which originates from insecurity of persons and property; for rare is the occasion that the tumult which murder and woundings bring about does not end up in pillage.

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For this reason the Rifians saw themselves obliged to cut down rigorously and to threaten with heavy sanctions any crimes of this magnitude and kind, the gravest in the society. The ddiyith[61] is

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therefore doubled in this case. We have here the reason, distinctly made, why, in my opinion 1000 duros must be established as the fine for homicide (a sanction which the clans of the Aith 'Abdallah and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash both establish and which we encounter in the ribat, or agreement, which allied such tribes as the Sanhajans of the Aith Siddath to the Aith Khannus, and the Bni Gmil to the Bni Bu Frah), and a further 1000 duros for homicide committed in the market; for the damage and disturbance affect not only a single lineage, but are prejudicial and shameful to the whole tribe, which by virtue of the laws of reprisal and blood-vengeance must fatten on any man who forgot his duties or obligations to it.

562 commented above. Two societies live together in perfect harmony among
671 the Rifians: the masculine and the feminine. To the latter, as in most modern societies, it reserves free and sure places for women to gather, the legitimacy of which is expressed in this qanun establishing sanctions against intruders, a fact which guarantees the tranquillity of both the ones and the others (i.e. of both women and men).

562 This persistent and good custom is no less faithfully observed
183 today, and within the last ten years (ca. 1930) there has been only
794 one attempt to go against it, made by a young talib of Ibuqquyen, soon
443 discovered under his disguise by the women themselves (after entering
689 the Monday Women's Market at Azghar in Aith Waryaghar), who handed him
178 over to the mkhazniya services, and from there he was sent to jail at
562 the administration office of Izimmuren (Ibuqquyen). The women's
443 markets are still held in the same places and on the same days as they
178 were hundreds and thousands of years ago.[80] The Aith Waryaghar, very
183 attached to their traditions, reserve and guarantee for their women special meeting places, a fact which speaks highly in their favor. Other tribes have now lost this custom and today there remain only the names of the places in which these women's markets were held.

671 In the qanun discussed here there can be discerned a body of doctrine, a community of ideas, an analogy of customs which is precisely what forms the so-called Berber Bloc, with needs and identical means of remedying them. The details may vary, as may the amount of
[184] the fine and its order in the drafting of the qanun.....but the funda-
[681] mentals, the acts which they considered reprehensible, those which merit punishment, did not vary, nor did the recording of the qanun and the proportion, in context, of the fines.

000 the proportion, in context, of the fines.

671 There are no offenses against the form of government, nor
687 against religion; more aptly put, there is no need to invent such
688 offenses, nor, by the same token, any punishment for them, because
184 all are agreed in such questions: republic and Islam.

184 This unanimity of opinion among the different groups of legis-
614 lators in the diverse clans of the tribe proves to us their (relative)
619 independence, and this is one of the ties which gives the tribe its
671 form.[81] It is clear that if individuals and families respond to a
602 private common law, the associations of these kin groups, the (uni-
linear) principles which link them together, and their common law
could not be very different, given their proximity (i.e. to each other).

671 These qanuns, which are the most outstanding signs of the
614 rudimentary (sic) common or public law of the Rifians, reveal to us
and define better than any other consideration (i.e. aspect of Rifian
life, or institution) the reality and importance of that social unit,
the clan, both a truly independent state and the ancient fatherland
(patria) of the Rifian; and the whole of this, the ensemble[82], explains
the Rifians' capacity for resistance in the struggle against any in-
vader through the multiple compartmented monopolies (i.e. clans), each
of which was opposed to the other, at the same time as it showed im-
potence and weakness to the outside (world).

671 These lay and democratic laws, full of suggestions, show the
619 Rif to be a land of custom, forming, as Montagne shows so clearly for
181 other Berber groups[83], a mosaic of minute independent republics, in
opposition to the Moroccan Empire, with its rigid sharifian organiza-
tion and administrative framework of qa'ids; for the qa'id is, as we

226 tribe are cordial and that reciprocity be admitted; but this was not
[619] frequent.

The Aith Waryaghar considered as their fishing area the waters between the mouth of the Nkur River and the islets of the beach at Sfiha.

226 The Ibuqquyen used to mark with lime those points on the coast
823 which by their topographical vagueness could not be distinguished from
184 the sea, and set up good fishing sites which, once they were in them, permitted them excellent catches.

442 The fish are auctioned on the beach by loads which are after-
443 wards taken to the market on muleback, and the proceeds are handed
492 over daily to the administrator chosen, who periodically hands over his accounts every two or three months, usually at festival times or at the ends of seasons, a fact which thus gives rise to incidents through doubts about negotiation of payments.

226 If the fish are not sold owing to lack of buyers, they are divided up the same way in kind, and the owner is informed so that he can collect his share.

The substitutes for crew members, during justifiable absences, as mentioned above, did not enter into the proportional division of the profits, but they were given a prudential and arbitrary quantity of fish as compensation, reserving for the absent crew-member his own part as if he had been working.

226 Any vessel which through imprudence enters the net which another
685 boat has laid down is responsible for the damage it causes, and any craft which in moving rams into another which has stopped is also responsible for the damage caused.

312 571 [613] [596] in the following turn it will take it up at night, and with another order among the irrigators in which the first in one turn will be the last in the next. These two classes of turns, this order of irrigation, is usually set up for the whole duration; when it is begun, the irrigators draw lots with small sticks or twigs, and, at other times, it is set up differently every day. The transfer of

312 571 425 [432] [805] [435] turns is free, as is the decision of the person to be favored. Turns of water are the object of buying and selling, and are independent of land. A 12-hour turn every week (eight days) comes to some 500 or 600 duros (1939).[124]

312 [821] The hour to begin irrigating is that of the rising or setting of the sun, according to whether the turn itself is diurnal or nocturnal. The repairs depend on their importance and where they are made, the users of the branch in question contributing to these, downstream. The outlets or cuts of water are the responsibility of

312 571 805 the individual who is irrigating at the time. The duration of turns was regulated by means of natural hours, those of the prayers, and by measurements of the shade and the angle of the same with some object, in other words, a true sun dial.

312 627 628 671 Differences were resolved, as noted, by means of arbitration, valuation or assessment, or indemnification, apart from governmental intervention if this is deemed necessary, as some qanuns express.

312 184 The variations in the treatment of ditches require the conformity of all the ditch-users to be expressed by themselves or their representatives personally, in a meeting convoked to this effect on the sites which are to be the objects of modification, in the system or traditions of irrigation.

223 If partridges are being hunted, the net has a truncated conical form. The smaller end is placed in front of the nest and the larger tied to the ground with string or rope. The more the partridge tries to move forward, the more imprisoned it is.

685 671 Theft of nets is generally punished by a fine in accordance with the written qanuns of the tribes.

224 K) Hunting of Jackals (Uhar), Wolves (Ushshan) and Foxes (Dhawardha):[196]

This is effected with an iron trap (dhakhshifth), with various strategems employed because of the cunning of the animals in question. Frequently one of these animals attacks the goats furthest away, and tears them into pieces before the goatherd can arrive. The remains of the goat are tied to a branch, and below them, hidden in the ground, the traps are placed in a circle. They are usually left there for a long time, for if their positions are changed, the animal or animals are apt to become wary. The jackal, after conscientious study and with maximum caution, succeeds most of the time in getting within the circle without harming himself, but the repeated jumps, each time with greater impulse, which he is obliged to make in order to get at the goat, end up with his getting caught in one of the traps (Zarqat).

224 184 825 In the Ibuqquyen, the bait is usually a reed tube full of horse-flies and covered with very rancid butter; this is hidden in the ground, and the traps are placed around it. The wary jackal usually gets inside the circle, attracted by the smell of the butter; but as the cautious animal scratches and bites, he is frightened by the flies, loses his head, and in one of his disorderly leaps, he lands on one of

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the traps and is stuck. In other tribes, instead of a reed tube, dried figs with flies are tied to the traps.[197]

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L) Ferrets:

In hunting with ferrets, these sometimes stay in the burrows of the game for several days and eat the game. In order to get a ferret out of the hole, its owner usually takes a chicken to the mouth of the den and makes it squawk; and the ferret is attracted by the noise. If he does not succeed through using this technique, the owner puts the chicken in a leather bag, in which it is kept, with the bag open, beside the entrance. When the ferret comes out, it enters the bag or stays crouched beside it.

Ferrets are also employed in hunting jackals and wolves (sic). The hunters prepare snares at the entrance of the animal's lair. They put the ferret there, and it is held down by its testicles. Aside from the snare already prepared, the hunters are then ready to finish the jackal off with blows from their sticks as it comes out.

M) Damages:

A hunting party is not responsible for damages which the individual hunters (Ar. mruyah, R. ingmarn) might inflict in garden, orchards, or beehives, etc., but the latter are. The injured party, if he does not accuse a specific person through not knowing who did the damage, can demand that the hunting party denounce the guilty individual, and if it does not wish to do this, it must declare, by name, those who passed closest to the site of the damage occasioned.[198]

[681]
[695]

If the latter confess, they pay a fine, and in case of denial, they are obliged to swear that they have not done the damage and that they do not know the man or men who did.

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[128] 9--Blanco terms this *ex pacto interfamiliar*; I use "inter-lineage" in the interests of greater structural accuracy. The pact itself concerns certain lineages of the Aith Waryaghar. And, as we are dealing here with MSS., I employ standard transcription for classical Arabic.

10--This saint, as his name indicates, comes from the subsegment of Aith Zawith n Imrabdhen (Imrabdhen n Waddai), of the clan Imrabdhen.

[113] 11--In the conversion from Muslim to Christian dates, we have used H. G. Cattenoz, *Tables de Concordance des Ères Chrétienne et Hégirienne*, 3rd Ed., Rabat 1961, as the conversions themselves do not occur in the Spanish translation.

In this connecticut also, it is well to point out that all the qanuns begin with the phrase "Praise be to God", then get to the matter at hand, and terminate with a statement or statements by the notaries, of whom there are always two, admitting the validity of the testimony of all the witnesses present. If the qanun is signed at the end by the qadi as well, he merely confirms the document by literally putting his seal of approval upon it.

12--More often stated as *Uddji wu r-haqq* or *yarrza r-haqq* ("there is no reason" or "reason is broken"), which also alludes neatly to the fact that when a feud is on, the *rhaqq* fine for murder is not paid to the *imgharen*, who themselves, of course, have picked up their rifles to participate!

13--*Haqq* means "law, reason, right"; and in Rifian it has the additional special meaning of "fine".

14--In Spanish, *Oficina de Asuntos Indigenas*.

15--It is difficult to surmise why judges of Muslim law would be "refractory" in their attitude toward markets, as through them they received their bread and butter; for the Shari'a in the tribal areas of Morocco has always been administered (where it has been applicable) in tribal markets. [114] It is interesting, however, that Blanco attributes greater control of markets to the Rif in pre-Spanish times than he does after pacification!

16--e.g. among each other and with the provisions of the *qanun* about to be drawn up.

17--Not so much "mechanism" of Rifian law as the mechanics of Rifian jural procedure.

[184] 18--Among the smaller Rifian tribes, there are often tribal clans which lack their own markets; but Blanco's statement holds true for the Aith Waryaghar, which is obviously the tribe he had in mind.

19--The unpublished *Conferencia sobre el Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño*, which forms Part II of this work.

20--Again, Blanco uses the term *interfamiliar*.

21--The name of this lineage is written *Isaghwen* in Arabic, but in all likelihood it refers to *Izzugwaghen* ("Sons of the red-head"), a branch of the Dharwa nj-Hajj 'Amar of the 'ineage of Aith Injin, of the Aith 'Aisa (r-Qman?) of Tazurakhth.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

800 102--Whether by this Blanco is referring to the two rival bands within a tri[illegible] (i.e. the Rifian liff system as described in successive notes in Book 2) or to the rival bands of Ghmara and Sinhaja he does not specify; but we suspect the reference is to the latter, and we have already put our own view on this subject forward elsewhere.

103--As they could also, no doubt, for the theory of whether liffs start wars or stop them.

[613] 104--An examination of the segmentation of the Bni Bu Frah shows us that lineages from all four of the tribal clans are in fact parties to the border defense agreement.

105--It is not clear from the original mss. whether by "least clear or tangible" Blanco refers to the tribe of the Bni Bu Frah or to the aspects of Rifian political organization under consideration.

106--Once again: for ddiyith, read rhaqq. This consistent howler becomes tiresome!

107--A somewhat similar situation, although born of quite different circumstances, is revealed in a tripartite qanun dated 1909 and translated and commented upon by Manuel Llord O'Lawlor ("Un Canon Bereber Tripartito", Tamuda, IV, 2, 1957, pp. 305-309), which involves an agreement between two Ghmaran tribes, Bni Smih and Bni Grir, and one "Rifian" (by default, as it is entirely arabic-speaking) tribe, Mtiwa, to establish a ribat in the harim or sacred territory surrounding the tomb of Sidi Yahya al-Wardani in Mtiwa; for Sidi Yahya is regularly visited every year, in mid-August, by all the surrounding tribes.

108--The punishment for whoever does not obey the order in question is not stated.

109--Literally, "big man of the military expedition"; under 'Abd al-Krim it referred to a top commander of tribal levies, rather than Rifian Army regular.

110--'Abd a-Krim Haddu n Si Ziyan, of Ajdir, and 'Abd al-Krim's cousin (and therefore a member of the lineage of Aith Zar'a), was the latter's qa'id al-mishwar (a term which might be translated as "privy counselor"). He took over all of Raisuli's money, after the latter was jailed in Thamasind[illegible]ly in 1925, and handed it over to 'Abd al-Krim.

111--Of this document, we have only the Spanish translation; there is no photocopy of the Arabic original in La Ley Rifeña.

[226] [184] 112--There is, in actual fact, very little fishing among the Aith Waryaghar, who possess only a very small strip of beach where the Plain of Alhucemas meets the sea, at Swani. The Ibuqquyen and Thimsaman, their neighbors to the west and east respectively, are more active fishermen.

113--The agharrabu is the standard Rifian fishing-boat. Made of pine-wood and caulked with tar, it measures 6 m. x 2 m. x 1 m., and in 1954, cost about 7000-8000 pesetas. It is a rowboat, with oarlocks beside each of its three or four benches such that if one bench has an oarlock on its right side, the one in front of it or behind it will have one on the left side, etc. Oars measure 3 m. in length. Coon (op. cit., 1931, p. 43) speaks of the existence of sailboats on the Mediterranean coast of Morocco, but says they are less common than the agharrabu described

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[114] [136]

196--This seems to indicate considerable confusion, both terminological and zoological, for the simple reason that there are no wolves proper in the Rif. A terminological confusion arises because Spanish dictionaries, both Rifian and Arabic, translate Rifian ushshan (pl. ushshannen) and Arabic dhi'b as "lobo, chacal", whereas properly it means only the latter: jackal. By the same token, uhar (pl. uharan) is a fox (not a jackal, as Blanco indicates); and thawardha probably corresponds to awardhyu (pl. iwardhiwen), listed by Ibáñez (op. cit., 1944, p. 439) as synonymous with uhar, "fox". We have never heard the word awardhyu in the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, however.

197--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, the carcass of a dead animal is used as jackal-bait, and traps are laid around it.

[184]

198--This is in contrast to the situation in the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, where division of the game and of the fines incurred are shared equally by all the hunters.

199--We have substituted "system of beliefs" for Blanco's term supersticiones as being somewhat more appropriate anthropologically.

584 depending on the hour, return to their respective homes or stay
583 overnight as guests of the bride's father.

584 Once the financial arrangement has been settled, the rep-
583 resentatives of both families go to the religious judge (qadi)
692 in Alhucemas or Targuist and present him with the list of obli-
gations the groom's family has accepted. The young couple are
also supposed to attend this meeting, and in the urban centers
it is obligatory. However, judges who serve tribal areas are
rather relaxed about such attendance and are satisfied if the
fathers are in agreement. It is a rule of thumb that judges
(671) who serve rural Berber areas allow customary procedures to pre-
vail over civil law if the matter does not infringe upon the
security of the state.

584 At this point the groom's family begins to collect the
583 necessary goods for the wedding celebration. This process may
369 take some time, and over a year may pass between the initial
184 agreement and the completion of the stipulated requirements
of the groom. This is, however, quite rare and seems more
584 associated with Berbers living in the city. Among the fellah
585 the marriage has been contracted for good reason and it is
thought best to consummate it as rapidly as possible. Often
the marriage ceremony takes place less than a month after the
meeting to determine the expenses.

585 When all the money and goods have been collected, both
583 parties meet with the qadi again, two or three days before the
692 wedding ceremony. The qadi checks off all the items to make sure

585 that the groom's side has complied with the original agreement.
[583] Once he has satisfied himself that all is in order, he signs
[692] the necessary marriage document. At this point the couple are
[184] legally married and many poor urban matches terminate here. In
[369] the Rif, however, the marriage is not socially sanctioned until the wedding ceremony is held.

585 By now, the groom's family has incurred several different
583 types of expense, although none of them is exactly 'bride-price'
431 or a payment to the bride's family to compensate for her loss. The first sort of payment is the gift, or zattat, given to the father to put him in a receptive mood. This places the recipient in obligation to the giver, although the Riffians seem to attach no binding commitment arising from this and a father can receive such gifts from an unlimited number of suitors. The second expense is the sdaq, which is in cash and devoted, at least in the Central Rif, exclusively for the purchase of objects to set up the new household. The final type of expense involves ceremonial costs for the wedding party.

585 - - The wedding celebration or thamagra is held in the late
[221] summer and early autumn after the harvesting of the cereals and
585 while the weather is temperate. For several days prior to the
574 ceremony both the bride and groom, separately but with a group of their friends, go from house to house within their dchar. Often the two parties go on a circuit of the same houses at the same time, although this is not always followed. When they do go to the same houses, the girl's party precedes the male group

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

few notes here will suffice to illustrate the range of difference. The Sanhajans are masters of terracing and irrigation, but in horticultural skill they yield to the Rifians, who are noted also for honey and grapes. The Ulad Stut, thanks to their bedawin origin, are expert in the preparation of milk products. The Ghmarans are northern Morocco's best fishermen, but their skill is limited to the use of skiffs and seines. The Sanhajans are most interested in freshwater fishing, and they may also be the best hunters in the northern zone. These points will be elaborated in chapter vi.

Cultural Uniformity and Diversity

In order to place northern Morocco in proper perspective, we must consider two classes of culture traits: those that are ubiquitous and those that are limited to certain parts of this zone. For example, the Rifian is in many respects quite different from the Ghmaran or Jbalan. He speaks a different language, has different ideas of honor and shame, wears his turban differently, and builds a different type of house. Yet as Moroccans the Rifians, Ghmarans, and Jbalans share ideas and objects that are rare or unknown in other parts of the Muslim world.

All Moroccans, at least in theory, are good Muslims. Islam does not confine itself to ideas and their influence on the spirit of man: it is a religion of force and authority, a system of law, and a basis of government. The influence of Islam is evident in institutions and patterns of behavior that affect the form and function of every village and farmstead. To say that Moroccans are Muslims is to assert that they share ideas and institutions common to the entire Muslim world. Yet it is also true that Islam in Morocco has many unusual features. It is a common saying that Berber culture constitutes the foundation of the Moroccan house, while Arab customs and religion are only the whitewash on the walls.[1]

A distinguishing feature of Moroccan Islam is the elaborate development of brotherhoods and the cult of saints. These heterodox developments seem in part to reflect pre-Islamic beliefs. The Berber tribesman, though he may be ignorant of Arabic, yields to no one in the belief that he is pious and correct. He prays, keeps the fast of Ramadan, and honors those of his tribe who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this sense he is like all Muslims, but, as Hart aptly remarks, he retains local saints to comfort him and local jinns to plague and torment him.[2] One aspect of these beliefs is the superstition that relates to the sanctity of cemeteries and shrines. In chapter vii it will be shown that there is often a marked contrast between the plant cover of sacred land and that of profane land.

Berber kinship terminology, like that of the Arabs, is a bifurcate collateral type.[3] The terms for mother's brother and for father's brother are different, as are the terms for mother's sister and for father's sister. The inheritance of property follows the standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. Descent is patrilineal, and the number of pa-

[1] D. M. Hart, "Morocco's Saints and Jinns," *Tomorrow*, 7 (1959), 45–54.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 46.
[3] D. M. Hart, *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 136a–140.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

611 Descent is patrilineal, and the number of paternal relatives a Moroccan can remember is always greater than the number on the mother's side.[6]

565 184 The important details of social stratification show little variation within the northern zone. Real or alleged descendants of the Prophet constitute the highest class. Among tribesmen, the most respected and important class is composed of gentlemen farmers. At the bottom of the scale are blacksmiths, market weighers and criers, musicians and dancers, and tinkers or other itinerant artisans. The Jews, regardless of their profession, are lowest in the scale.

621 184 Besides these aspects of religion and social organization, there are many features of settlement and livelihood that show little variation within the northern zone. The basic unit of settlement is the hamlet or farmstead. Settlements of more than a few hundred inhabitants are rare. For every farmer who grows cash crops there are at least a hundred others who are concerned only with their own or community needs. In all Morocco, subsistence farming and barter govern rural economy, and trading takes place at weekly markets held in the open air.

241 433 [437] [443]

One of the clearest expressions of cultural diversity is the division of northern Morocco into zones of Arabic and Berber speech, a division which coincides with other cultural frontiers. Generally speaking, the eastern half of the area (Rif, Garet, Gal'aya) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala, Ghmara) has been Arabized. The historical and cultural factors that have brought about this division will be considered in chapter iii.

195 631 648 A state, by minimum definition, is an extent of inhabited territory presided over by a government capable of asserting its authority. During most of its history, Morocco was hardly a state in this sense of the word. One of the important themes of Moroccan history is the division of the country into lands of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) and lands of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*). The belligerence of the free tribes was based not only on their hatred of taxes[7] and authoritarian order but also on their inability to conceive of any social or political unit larger than the tribe or confederation of tribes. Most of the Rif was part of the land of dissidence.[8] Jbala and Ghmara formed an intermediate zone, neither submissive nor openly rebellious in the face of domination from without. The plains of Wad Lukkus and the Gharb were easier to subdue.

619 628 [648] [571] [616] [712] Dissidence was expressed in intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as in opposition to the central government. In most of the Rif, and especially in Aith Wariyaghar, quarrels over ownership of land, water rights, and personal affronts led to blood feuds of extraordinary savagery. Some feuds did not end until one of the participating families was exterminated. Feuding and the necessity for defense gave rise to a complex system of alliances based in part upon moieties. In the days before the Spanish occupation, each house in Aith Wariyaghar had

[6] In popular writings Berber society is sometimes described as being influenced by matriarchy. This assumption is based upon the fact that Berber women are much more active and unabashed than the Arabized women of the towns; it is based also upon the tradition that the Garmantians were led by a queen or prophetess. E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443. [113]

[7] *Makhzen* comes from the verb *khazana*, "to lock up" or "to hoard." The word is synonymous with "government" and more especially with the treasury department. E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Makhzen," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–1938). [113]

[8] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 380–381. [113]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[9] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes.[10] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom.[11]

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[12]

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

[9] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquíes, 2 (1954), 38.

[10] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley riseña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[11] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[12] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 9 1

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

and Aith Wariyaghar, and the wheel-made pottery in Ibuqquyen, Aith Tuzin, and Thimsaman. Basketry is made by coiling, twilling, and wickerwork. In the manufacture of woolen textiles two types of loom are employed: in most of the northern zone an upright two-bar loom with stick heddle is used; another type of loom is a horizontal mechanism, with looped wire heddles, operated by a treadle. In Garet, long braids of alfa grass are tied to stakes to form a crude loom for weaving textiles.

Differences in types of houses and in settlement patterns provide further evidence of cultural diversity. Jbala, Gharma, and Sanhaja as-Srair represent one tradition, while the Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya represent another. The sharp division between sloping roofs in the western half of the zone and flat roofs in the area east of Targist (see chap. v) coincides with the difference in settlement pattern between the hamlets of the west and the scattered farmsteads of the east.

In Morocco, as in most of the Muslim world, it is easy to distinguish between the clothing of townspeople and that of rural folk. The sophisticated townsman (fig. 3, *d*), with gabardine suit, European shoes, fez, and dark glasses is never mistaken for a man of the country (*bilad*). Urban and rural differences in women's dress are even more pronounced. The shrouded figures seen in the cities (fig. 3, *h*, *i*) contrast sharply with the unabashed women of the countryside.[13] Men and women of the bilad are promptly identified when they enter a town. From which bilad do they come? A generation ago, before the adoption of cotton cloth and other imported fabrics, this question was easy to answer. Garments were then made entirely of wool, locally sheared, spun, and woven, and each costume betrayed a provincial style. Today this distinction is not always clear; yet it is still possible to learn much about where a man comes from by the length and cut of his clothing, the way he ties his turban, and the nature of his footgear. Women's dress is even more explicit.

The basic garment of most tribesmen is a hooded cloak (*jillaba*). We can be sure that this garment was worn in the sixteenth century, for Leo Africanus describes Moroccans as being "clad in certain woolen cloaks or mantles, such as are used in Italy." "These mantles," he adds, "have certain hoods, which cover their heads and visages, so that you can scarce discern them to be men."[14] In Jbala and Ghmara, cloaks are knee-length, and there is no transition from hood to sleeves. The front of the Jbalan cloak usually has tufting or some other decoration. A generation ago this type of garment was worn in the Rif also, but today most Rifians wear a longer cloak, reaching halfway between knee and ankle. Rifian cloaks are no longer decorated, and most of them have definite shoulders (fig. 3, *a*). Throughout northern Morocco, brown is the preferred color for cloaks, but gentlemen of distinction occasionally wear white (fig. 3, *b*). One sometimes sees a gray or blue cotton jillaba and even a few of striped pattern, but such apparel is worn only by tribesmen who are more or less urbanized.

Cotton turbans (*rezza*) are the characteristic headgear. In the Rif, turbans are worn straight, two fingers above the eyebrows, and are always white. This

[13] Ernst Rackow, *El traje musulmán femenino en Africa del Norte* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1953); and *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958).

[14] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 526. First edition, Venice, 1550.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Rifian women present a different picture (fig. 3, *g*). They never wear leggings and are almost always barefoot. Sneakers may be worn on special occasions, but one never sees slippers. In recent years the Rifian markets have been flooded with inexpensive rubber shoes, usually green in color, which some of the younger women have adopted.

Brilliant colors characterize the Rifian woman's outer robe, which is usually of red or yellow silk, worn over an inner robe of white cotton. Rifian women have recently begun to wear baggy trousers, usually blue. Unmarried girls wear a wide cotton headband with brightly colored embroidery, which is partly covered by a head towel. Married women in the mountains of Aith Tuzin and Aith Wariyaghar, and both married and single women in Sanhaja as-Srair, wear strands of black yarn around the crown of the head (fig. 3, *f*). One of the distinctive features of Rifian dress is a red woolen belt introduced about a generation ago from Melilla. It is worn by most Rifian women, but has not been adopted in Ghmara or Sanhaja as-Srair. In summer many Rifian women wear straw hats, but they do not approximate the huge size of the Jbalan "sombreros."

In general, there is a distinct difference in the pattern of women's dress in the Rif and in the western provinces. The brilliant yellow and red robes of the Rifian women are in striking contrast to the somber garments of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. These differences coincide with other cultural frontiers. The human geography of northern Morocco is a complicated pattern of areal succession and overlap; yet many lines coincide, and it is possible to speak of "culture areas."

621 /240 cont./
628 reals; 5,000 if it only wounded him; if the bullet missed its
613 goal, 2,500. The marksman, however, fortunate or awkward,
726 perished the next day, struck perhaps by a child hidden with a
[435] gun in a thicket of lentiscus.

It is understandable that under these conditions the notion of
613 "khoms" is often obscure; the only group that can exist then is
619 the family, around which assemble by bonds of adoption and marriage the weakest groups and the outsiders so as to form the "tarfiq."

613 Discords sometimes become so violent that material life
628 frequently stops; only the women then dare to go out into the fields; the men come to pray at the mosque without abandoning
613 their guns. In these circumstances, the family heads of the
628 whole country gather together in order to decide on a "ribat,"
675 which is respected for several months. This name is given to a solemn agreement that binds all the members of the neighboring tribes to repress, by means of very high fines, murders, rapes,
[681] large thefts, aggressions at the markets or on the roads leading to them. The sums paid by the guilty, which can climb to several thousand douros, are divided among the contracting tribes. The "amghars," heads of the most powerful families, have only the small personal part that goes to them just as to mere individuals.

628 Among the less turbulent tribes of the Rif, as at Targist, at
184 Zerqet, among the Beni Gmil, private wars have not reached as
621 great a development since the inhabitants still succeed in living grouped in hamlets. The "mouda[illegible]" or subfractions and even the
632 "khoms" sometimes summon all the warriors in order to delibe-
621 rate common affairs. This meeting, to which each one comes
613 armed, takes the name "agrao" as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Sometimes the chiefs of
[681] each of the important families put at the head of the khoms an
[671] amghar whose role is to see to the application of the customary law, to have the fines, or "insaf," paid, with which crimes are punished according to rules known by all, but not written. Like
[652] the moqaddem in the western Atlas, this amghar collects one third of the "insaf"; the other two parts go to the tribe.